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ABSTRACT

These five annotated reading guides conclude the series developed for courses at the Boston Public Library under the National Endowment for the Humanities Learning Library Program. Images of Boston offers 44 novels and other popular literature to show (1) how Boston is represented in creative writing, (2) how authors depict its physical experience and its people's life experiences, (3) the major images and metaphors that have been used, (4) the essence of its values and traditions, and (5) Boston's potentialities and limitations. There was a time when much of American art was Boston art, and the second group of 55 readings explores this period (and others) and the artists that exemplified it. The third set of 20 readings on specific Boston case law examines the emergence of the Boston Housing Court, the Park Place Development controversy, reform of the Lower Criminal Courts and school desegregation. Geography--the influence of local topography on the development of a city--is traced in a fourth selection of seven readings. Answers to the question "What is Metropolitan Boston?" are offered in the last set of 63 readings on social change since 1920. (RAA)

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Boston An Urban Community

Images of Boston: Writers' Views of the City

An Annotated Reading List
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Boston Public Library, 1977

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FOREWORD

The Boston Public Library is pleased to present a series of annotated reading guides as a follow-up to the lectures in its NEH Learning Library Program, "Boston: An Urban Community."

The Library's program has been developed under the Cultural Institutions Program of the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), a new national program whose purpose is to help libraries, museums and other cultural institutions become centers of formal humanities education for their communities. An advisory committee, composed of outstanding scholars from academic institutions in the Boston area, assists in the selection of topics for the program's learning activities and helps recruit the teachers for it.

Sequences presented in the Program have been:

"Bibles, Brahmins and Bosses: Leadership and the Boston Community" with Thomas O'Connor, Professor of History, Boston College. February 3 - April 7, 1975.

"Boston's Architecture: From First Townhouse to New City Hall" with Gerald Bernstein, Professor of Art History, Brandeis University. February 8 - March 29, 1975.

"Family Life in Boston: From Colonial Times to the Present" with Nancy Cott, Professor of History, Yale University. April 3 - May 22, 1975.

"Shaping the Boston Landscape: Drumlins and Puddingstone" with George Lewis, Professor of Geography, Boston University. April 8 - May 27, 1975.

"Revolutionary Boston: The Leaders and the Issues, 1763-1789" with Richard Bushman, Professor of History, Boston University, September 16 - November 4, 1975.

"Culture and Its Conflicts: The Example of 19th-Century Boston" with Martin Green, Professor of English, Tufts University. September 18 - November 6, 1975.

"Boston's Artisans of the 18th Century" with Wendy Cooper, Assistant Curator, American Decorative Arts, Museum of Fine Arts. November 13, 1975 - January 22, 1976.

"Boston's Black Letters: From Phillis Wheatley to W.E.B. DuBois" with William Robinson, Chairman of Black Studies, Rhode Island College, November 18, 1975 - January 13, 1976.

"The Emerging Immigrants of Boston" with Andrew Buni, Professor of History, Boston College. February 4 - March 31, 1976.

"From Grass to Glass: A History of Boston's Architecture" with Gerald Bernstein, Professor of Art History, Brandeis University. February 5 - March 25, 1976.

"The American Revolution and the Common Man" with Robert Gross, Professor of History and American Studies, Amherst College. April 6 - May 25, 1976.

"Law, Justice, and Equality: Case Studies from the Boston Experience" with William Davis, Professor of Law and Urban Studies, M.I.T. April 8 - May 27, 1976.

"Painting in Boston, 1670-1970" with Margaret Supplee Smith, Professor of Fine Arts, Boston University, September 14 - November 2, 1976.

"After Strange Fruit: Changing Literary Taste in Post-World-War-II Boston" with P. Albert Duhamel, Professor of English, Boston College. September 16 - November 4, 1976.

"Images of Boston: Writers' Views of the City" with Robert Hollister, Professor of Urban Studies and Planning, M.I.T. September 18 - November 6, 1976.

INTRODUCTION

This bibliography is a selection of books used in a National Endowment for the Humanities Learning Library Program course on "Images of Boston: Writers' Views of the City," presented September 18 - November 5, 1976. This listing includes classics, best sellers, never-sellers and pulps. It covers only some of the over two hundred novels and the countless other pieces of popular literature set in Boston.

In addition to their entertainment value, these books are instructive about the issues on which "Images of Boston" focussed:

-- How is Boston represented in fiction and other creative writing?
-- How do various authors depict Boston's physical environment? The life experience of successive immigrant groups? Boston childhoods?
-- What have been the major images and metaphors used in writing about Boston? How has their popularity shifted over time? How can we account for these changes?
-- What is the essence of Boston values and traditions--about individualism, morality, religion, and political forms? What can we learn from literature about the significance and the sources of these values and traditions?
-- What ideas about the potentialities and limitations of Boston and life in Boston are expressed in literature? How?

While the books annotated below do not fall neatly into the categories that indicate the scope of the individual lectures, the bibliography places each volume in one of the categories about which it is informative.

1. Growing Up in Boston--Child's Eye Views

Henry Adams. The Education of Henry Adams. Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1918. (Paperback edition: Houghton Mifflin).

Chapters I and II of this autobiography describe Adams' childhood in Quincy and Boston. The author reveals the impact of family background on his subsequent perceptions of Boston. In his third-person account, Adams describes a youth greatly influenced by "the mere accident of starting a twentieth century career from a nest of associations so Colonial--so troglodytic--as the First Church, the Boston State House, Beacon Hill, John Hancock and John Adams, Mount Vernon Street and Quincy." He gives excellent insights into the childhood of a Boston Brahmin whose family viewed modern Boston with considerable skepticism and distrust. Adams' concepts of Boston are usually developed through contrasts with other places and states of being--Washington, Europe and Quincy.

Mary Antin. The Promised Land. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1912. (Paperback edition: Houghton Mifflin, 1969).

An account of the author's life in Russia, then in Boston. Although her father never really succeeded in the business world in Boston, Mary Antin sees her new country as the "Promised Land." The American Dream was free public schools, a chance to become educated and to pursue her goal of becoming a writer. She presents an optimistic view of America while describing the shabby tenements where her family lived and the agony they faced every rent day. She is a

true believer in the value and efficacy of the agencies and institutions built to ease the acculturation of immigrants. Antin is helped along the way by the Morgan Memorial, the Barnard and Morgan Chapels, and none other than the Brahmin relic, Edward Everett Hale.

Robert Lowell, "91 Revere St." in Life Studies. New York: Farrar, Strauss and Cudahy, 1959. (Paperback edition: Farrar Strauss and Giroux, 1967).

Wonderfully insightful piece based on the period of three years Lowell lived at this address with his parents. The essay conveys subtleties of class distinction on Beacon Hill; relates his school and friendship experiences with Brimmer School classmates dressed in "little tweed golf suits with knickerbockers." He summons up memories of the Public Garden and Common, Sunday dinners, childhood fears, detials of furniture and dress. The author relates his mother's "horrified giddiness" at the declassé character of their residential location: "We are barely perched on the outer rim of the hub of decency."

Samuel Eliot Morison. One Boy's Boston. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1962.

This autobiography covers the years 1887-1901. It is a collection of the well-known historian's memories and impressions of his upper-class childhood. He describes vividly Boston society life, private schools, transportation, play and social attitudes. Morison views Boston as less "stuffy, provincial, purse-proud, prejudiced" than some critics maintain. His childhood account consistently affirms upper-class Boston ways, occasionally with a degree of defensiveness. The thin

volume is delightful reading. It gives a sharp, clear sense of what it was like to be a privileged boy in late nineteenth century Boston.

Francis Russell, ed. Forty Years On. West Roxbury: Roxbury Latin School, 1970.

Produced in commemoration of the 325th anniversary of the Roxbury Latin School, this book includes a series of "Ten Roxbury Sketches" by the editor. "Patterns of a City" presents his boyhood impressions and experiences of Boston. Russell ventured the length and breadth of the city, and even as a boy "felt the immediacy of the proud, sprawling seaport city with its mysterious strength that held the threads of so many individual and private destinies." "The Boston El" describes his daily trip to school. This journey remains today an excellent cross-sectional slice through residential space and time that the reader can experience himself, with Russell's account in mind.

David Viscott. Dorchester Boy: Portrait of a Psychiatrist as a Very Young Man. New York: Arbor House, 1973.

Viscott relates what it was like to grow up in a predominantly Jewish section of Dorchester. His family shared a two-family house with his grandparents. The author stresses the importance attached by this community to culture and education. A section telling of Blue Hill Avenue shows boyhood pursuits, what he noticed, how he and his playmates enjoyed and used their neighborhood, its stores and storekeepers. "There were no strangers on Blue Hill Avenue, only blood relatives from a fading culture sharing another common thoroughfare in time."

2. Boston's Physical Development and the Spirit of Place

Caroline Ticknor, ed. Dr. Holmes's Boston. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, Co., 1915.

Oliver Wendell Holmes's unabashed pro-Boston chauvinism celebrates key themes in the city's view of itself and the spirit of Boston. In addition to capturing cultural and social preoccupations, Holmes describes in sharp detail the physical settings relevant to his activities and meanderings--boating on the Charles, for example.

Resident of the Boston area for almost his entire life, Holmes's writings span a period of rapid growth and physical change of which he is a thoughtful observer. He rails against the erection of historical monuments, rues the "destroying hand of 'progress.'"

William Dean Howells. The Rise of Silas Lapham. Boston: Ticknor and Co., 1885. (Numerous paperback editions).

In addition to being informative about Boston society and class conflicts, this novel tells about physical development of the Back Bay. Self-made paint-manufacturer Lapham and his family move to the South End as upper-class Bostonians are fleeing it. Then Lapham buys a lot on the water side of Beacon, in the "New Land" of filled Back Bay. We follow his dreams and evolving plans for his mansion, that serves as a metaphor for his shifting business and social fortunes. The story covers architectural styles of the period, and presents psychological aspects of the individual decisions that in cumulation developed the city.

Henry James. The American Scene. New York: Harper, 1907. (Paperback edition: Indiana University Press, 1968).

The chapter on Boston recounts James' return to his former home after over twenty years abroad. He decries the changes he observes in the city, mixing condemnation of physical growth with a sharp disdain tor the growing immigrant population. He sees Boston through the eyes of both disillusioned native and sophisticated newcomer. Where the physical setting expresses values that he espouses, his writing captures this effect more eloquently than the prose of any other writer. The book includes his classic description of the charm of Mount Vernon St., wandering up the hill to the rear of the State House, "fairly hanging about there to rest like some good flushed lady, or more than middle age."

David McCord. About Boston: Sight, Sound, Flavor and Inflection. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1948. (Paperback edition: Little, Brown and Co., 1973).

McCord's essays, now almost thirty years old, remain among the best evocations of the spirit of the Boston landscape, of the values embedded in the physical forms, both built and natural, of the local environment. As he states: "Boston is what she is today because the past is physically as well as traditionally a part of her modern life."

Anton Myrer. The Intruder: A Novel of Boston. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1965.

Subtitled "A Novel of Boston," this is a novel of Boston urban renewal, a distinct period in

the physical development of the city. The sheer scale of redevelopment demanded a novel villifying it, and this is it. Clearly inspired by the clearance of the West End, the backdrop for The Intruder is plans for renewal of the North End. The wife of Gardner Lawring, Yankee architect of the plans, is raped by a North End cabbie. The heavy-handed theme: who is really the intruder?

3. Boston of Virtue or of Vice? Urban Romanticism vs. Revulsionism

John Tornrose Fitzgerald. Bixby of Boston: Being the Little Story of a Young Railway-Office Clerk. New York: Broadway Publishing Co., 1906.

A typical turn-of-the-century piece of romantic pulp. Bixby the railway clerk finds the city a place of unrequited love. The city strokes his romantic dreams and fantasies, yearnings and lust.

Edward Everett Hale. If Jesus Came to Boston. Boston: Lamson, Wolffe and Co., 1895.

This plain white-dustjacketed volume was inspired by another's book entitled "If Christ Came to Chicago," that suggested that His plans had failed badly. Hale paints the rosier side. Dr. Primrose, his South Boston physician-narrator, guides a Christ-figure around Boston. The tour is merely a vehicle for showing off the great good works of Bostonians, a population ostensibly dedicated to taking care of immigrants and others in need. Primrose and the visitor traipse the city, visiting in turn various effective social agencies.

Nathaniel Hawthorne. The Blithedale Romance. Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1852. (Paperback edition: Norton, 1958).

The novel draws heavily on Hawthorne's stay at the socialist community established briefly at Brook Farm in 1841, in what is today West Roxbury. Hawthorne's tale concerns the spiritual and psychological aspects of brotherhood, and competing social, economic and political theories. In addition, it contrasts the values associated with city and country living. His characters, especially the narrator, cynical minor poet Coverdale, leave Boston in search of a communal existence, but yearn for the comforts of the city.

William Dean Howells. A Modern Instance. Boston: Osgood and Co., 1882. (Paperback edition: Houghton Mifflin, 1957).

Bartley and Marcia Hubbard marry and move from Equity, Maine, to the great metropolis of Boston. The Hubbards try hard to make it, but the city denies them opportunity. Bartley moves up in the world of local journalism, but suffers a progressive moral decay. Howells presents Boston as a city of high rents, mean streets and sharp social cleavages. He plays out the theme of the provincial innocent coming to the city (Boston) in some of his other novels as well (The Rise of Silas Lapham, The Minister's Charge, The Landlord at Lion's Head), but this one handles the theme most skillfully and was his favorite.

Henry James. The Bostonians. London: Macmillan and Co., 1886. (Several paperback editions).

This novel dissects female emancipationists and abolitionists of the 1870's in terms that are likely to put 1970's progressives on the defensive. Boston remains inhabited today by the philosophical and political progeny of Olive Chancellor, rich proponent of emancipation; Miss Birdseye, the aged, penniless philanthropist who "has labored for every wise reform"; Verena Tarrant, who gains renown as a speaker for the cause; as well as Basil Ransom, the outsider who rejects the local ism's and fights for Verena's heart. Revealing descriptions of parts of Boston accompany James's focus on cultural and social forms of the day.

4. Human Values and Traditions

Margaret Allston (Anna Farquhar), Her Boston Experiences: A Picture of Modern Boston Society and People. Boston: L.C. Page and Co., 1901.

In this highly melodramatic novel, the protagonist, while clearly a social success, feels judged and bullied by Bostonians, as though "I had found my way into a mammoth woman's club where the principal idea was to doubt and weigh every proposition, then disprove it if possible." She paints the world of Boston women of the Brahmin class: charity meetings, dances, dinners, teas. Boston men are portrayed as aloof, indifferent, impolite and conceited. The story moves through the main institutions and establishments of the upper class, commenting irreverently on each. Several illustrations show Boston at the turn of the century.

Arlo Bates. The Puritans. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1898. (Paperback edition: Gregg, 1968).

The novel follows the introduction of two young deacons into Boston society where they encounter persons living lives of subtle impropriety.

The plot revolves around the choice between a liberal and a conservative candidate for bishop. The wealthy churchgoers take sides and use decidedly impious campaign tactics. A Dickensian critique of condescending philanthropists involves a do-gooders' visit to a battered woman in the North End.

Oliver Wendell Holmes. The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1858. (Several paperback editions).

As he discourses with the Schoolmistress, the Young Fellow Named John, the Landlady's daughter, the Divinity student, the Old Gentleman opposite, and the Poet, the Autocrat, Holmes, expresses local values and traditions. The book contains his most famous epigrams of Boston and life here. His philosophical postures are framed by a close knowledge of his city. As Holmes says, "I have bored this ancient city through and through in my daily travels, until I know it as an old inhabitant of Cheshire knows his cheese."

5. Immigrant and Ethnic Boston- Social and Class Conflicts

Charles Angoff, Journey to the Dawn. New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1951.

This is the first in what became a series of

books about the Polonskys, a Jewish immigrant family, and their in-laws, the Weinbergs. The Polonskys travel from Russia to Boston in 1905, and settle on Beacon Hill. Angoff, a Boston newspaperman and later editor of the American Mercury, recounts in vivid detail how young David Polonsky experiences his new home. This is an excellent account of Jewish immigrant experience of the city, detailing conditions of life, what young David notices, likes, abhores, and is confused by. The next two novels in the series are set in Boston, then the Polonskys move to New York, after which point the images of Boston are only occasional memories, comparisons and visits.

Joseph Caruso, The Priest. New York: Macmillan, 1956.

This book would never win a Nobel Prize for literature, but it is an entertaining story of the West End before urban renewal. It seems to be the only novel primarily about Italian Boston. The book describes the religious forms and strong elements of anti-clericism in the community. It shows clearly the tensions and differences within the Church. Gangster Joseph Shannon is convicted of killing his mistress. Father Octavio Scarpi, a former boxer, hears the last rites of another man who confesses to the murder. Father Octavio is tormented about how to achieve justice and at the same time not violate the secrecy of the confessional.

Frances Parkinson Keyes. Joy Street. New York: Julian Messner, Inc., 1950. (Paperback edition: Simon and Schuster, 1974).

Emily, granddaughter of the wealthy and popular Mrs. Forbes of Boston, marries Roger, who, though far less affluent, is nonetheless of

"good" family. Roger's involvement in a progressive law firm brings non-society visitors to the family home and unexpected friendships to the sheltered Emily, who has never before had social contact with the Italians, Irish or Jews who inhabit Boston. The unconventional Mrs. Forbes expresses both a questioning of, and an allegiance to, the values of Brahmin society. Aside from the social and sociological insights of the novel, there are valuable descriptions of life on Beacon Hill, in Louisburg Square and in other, less "correct" parts of town.

Malcolm X with Alex Haley. The Autobiography of Malcolm X. New York: Grove, 1965. (Paperback edition: Grove, 1965).

Rather little of Malcolm X's autobiography is locally situated, but those few sections reveal a great deal about black Boston. We follow Malcolm's exploration of Boston when he first arrives, then become acquainted with the Roseland State Ballroom, the natural lure of the world of poolrooms, bars, cheap restaurants and pawnshops. Malcolm lives in Roxbury and observes class differences within the black community. He works briefly loading trains at the Dover St. railyard, and later is jailed for theft in the Charlestown State Prison.

John P. Marquand. The Late George Apley. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1937. (Paperback edition: Little, Brown, 1965).

If you must read only one volume to understand the Yankee Bostonian, this should be your choice. Built around edited fictional letters, the novel probes sympathetically yet humorously the Proper Bostonian's attitudes towards family, physical

and social change, schooling, Puritanism, intellectualism and money. The conflicts between father and son are a classic of intergenerational friction. The younger Apley, even in his departure from the ways espoused by his father, remains a strongly traditional Bostonian.

Mark J. Mirsky. Blue Hill Avenue. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1972.

Rabbi Lux, the mild, good-hearted scholar, leaves the serenity of study and the not-so-serene comfort of home to pursue a missing pupil. Once a thriving Jewish community, this area of Dorchester is now decayed and few of the "old beards" are left; the most notable members of the community and the rabbi's congregation are bookies, numbers men and pool-parlor owners. Through the sewers and dens of Blue Hill Avenue the rabbi searches, uncovering the sins and miseries of the ghetto. The book captures neatly the spiritual decay that lies behind the creaky stairwells and the shards of glass.

See also The Secret Table by Mirsky, probably the most powerful of contemporary writers to use and to describe Boston. A part of that book, "Dorchester Home and Garden" concerns Maishe, a thirty-year old adolescent, returning to no-longer Jewish Blue Hill Avenue.

Edwin O'Connor. The Last Hurrah. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1956. (Paperback edition: Bantam, 1970).

This classic story of Irish-American politics is based loosely on the life of James Michael Curley. Protagonist Frank Skeffington exemplifies a personal style of politics in which individual

favors are granted, and then repaid with votes. O'Connor analyzes Irish political culture through the story of the incumbent mayor's final and losing campaign against an inexperienced, mediocre opponent, backed by Skeffinton's political enemies. The book plays out marvelously the Irish vs. Yankee political conflict. O'Connor's other novels--All in the Family and The Edge of Sadness--are similarly informative about the Boston Irish.

Bryant Rollins, Danger Song. New York: Macmillan, 1971. (Paperback edition: Collier, 1971).

This novel is impressive for its sensitive recounting of both black and white, central city and suburban perspectives. It is surprising that the book has not received greater critical or popular acclaim to date. Rollins shows the lack of opportunity for a bright young black man who is continuously penalized for venturing physically and socially beyond Roxbury. Martin Williams' wanderings through Boston cover a good part of the local landscape. We follow his dreams and strivings, as he gets strong support for his ambitions from his family, but has to deal with his teachers' hostility and white youths' violent antagonism. Martin forms a close friendship with a boy from Beacon Hill, but is beaten up by his black schoolmates for associating with him. He becomes infatuated with a white suburban girl whose father is donating the use of a Roxbury building to Martin's sisters' social agency. Their budding relationship leads to Martin's death in a violent fantasy-reality conclusion that is reminiscent of the racial turmoil of the 1960's.

Edward R. F. Sheehan. The Governor: Being an Embittered and Bemused Account of the Life & Times of the Brother of the Irish Christ. New York: World Publishing Co., 1970.

A story of power politics that shows the importance of the Church in Boston politics. Young, handsome Emmet Shannon is elected Governor with the support of a corrupt Commissioner of Public Works and the Archbishop of Boston. Commissioner Francis X. Cassidy strives to build a parking garage in the Public Garden, but his protege balks at implementing the scheme. The novel includes excellent descriptive passages on Beacon Hill and Roxbury. The reader learns about the contrasting lifestyles of the Irish, blacks, Italians, and Yankees.

Jean Stafford. Boston Adventure. Philadelphia: Blakiston Co., 1944. (Paperback edition: Harcourt, Brace, 1967).

This story of an immigrant hotel maid's daughter who comes to live with a Beacon Hill grand dame is a perfect vehicle for describing Yankee Boston and the conflicts of immigrants and "natives." After Sonia Marburg's mother dies, Miss Pride invites Sonia to live with her on Beacon Hill. She catalogues in entertaining fashion its values and traditions. The novel explores the gradations of class, local preoccupation with lineage, lionizing of Boston cultural institutions, and the thriftiness of the wealthy.

Sidney Sulkin. The Family Man. Washington, D. C.: Robert B. Luce, 1962.

A story of Jewish Dorchester during the Depression. Harry Allman, building contractor, makes it through the economic hard times, partly by shady dealing. The novel follows his family life from his courtship with Leah to the disintegration of their marriage into bitter emptiness and the earned disrespect of his children. This book is unusual for its setting in a neighborhood of three-deckers rather than the brick rowhouses that are the location for most Boston novels. It recounts the dynamics of neighborhood change of an earlier era.

Dorothy West. The Living is Easy. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1948. (Reprint: Arno, 1970).

A story of Black Yankees, this may be the only novel to deal with Boston's black middle class. A light-skinned girl makes her way in society by lying, cheating and manipulating her sisters, daughter and husband, most of whom desert her one by one. Cleo Judson and her banana wholesaler husband live first in the South End, later near Brookline. The main plot concerns an unappealing, conniving character, but the book is interesting for its treatment of race relations and local geography.

6. Travel Literature and Visitors' Accounts

Charles Dickens. American Notes for General Circulation. New York: Wilson and Co., 1842. (Paperback edition: Penguin, 1972).

While residents of New York and Philadelphia suffered Dickens' caustic reporting on his

visits there, Dickens gave Bostonians ample reason for self-congratulation. He wrote, "The tone of society in Boston is one of perfect politeness, courtesy, and good-breeding." The city clearly benefitted from being the first stop on his American tour. Dickens took particular interest in local social service institutions and charities, and goes on at length about charitable institutions located in South Boston.

H. G. Wells. The Future in America, A Search after Realities. New York: Harper and Bros., 1906 (Reprint: Arno, 1974).

At the start of this book Wells treated the city well, declaring his admiration for the confident and planful growth he observed. Later on, Wells concludes that Bostonians are "mysteriously enchanting and ineffectual," and ponders why this might be. Overall, in his record, Boston shines in comparison to other U.S. cities.

Nathaniel P. Willis. The Complete Works. New York: J. S. Redfield, 1846.

Willis' brief description of an 1843 visit to Boston provides more fuel for the Bostonian's penchant for comparing his city to New York. Willis sized up the local populace as being of superior character to New Yorkers. He comments on the "look of staid respectability and thrift." "The very loaves in the bakers' windows had a look of virtuous exaction, to be eaten gravely, if at all."

Chiang Yee, The Silent Traveller in Boston. New York: W. W. Norton, 1959.

Chiang Yee is a more recent visitor who offers

impressions of his stay in Boston. We can compare our city with other places covered in the Silent Traveller series...London, Oxford, New York, Dublin. Yee enters the city extraordinarily well-connected and moves easily among the intellectual and social elite. His prose has the same graceful impressionistic qualities as his watercolor illustrations. The polite and curious guest reveals us to ourselves gently.

7. Boston Today

Russell H. Greenan. It Happened in Boston? New York: Random House, 1969.

Greenan makes full use of Boston character and landscape as both setting and stimulus of terrible fantasies and various sinister possitilities. The book presents a detailed knowledge of the Back Bay and Public Garden. The characters are easily recognizable to anyone who inhabits or passes through these parts. The disintegration of the paranoid artist protagonist is less interesting than how Greenan presents and uses the city.

See also Greenan's Heart of Gold, a comparably macabre novel, also set in the Back Bay. It offers a Boston inhabited by a thoroughly perfidious Back Bay minister, his rich and gullible parishioners, and an assortment of con men and shady characters.

George V. Higgins. The Friends of Eddie Coyle. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. 1972.

The first novel by George Higgins tells the story of a working-class stiff in the Boston underworld. Eddie Coyle, just trying to make a few dollars and stay a step ahead of the law,

forfeits a position of relative safety by double-crossing both the police and his criminal cohorts. The book traces the consequences of his ill-advised actions, both for others and for himself, in this tale of small-time deals and violent retribution.

Higgins' next two books, The Digger's Game and Cogan's Trade plow the same terrain as Eddie Coyle. Readers of these novels will perceive a side of Boston one rarely sees or even thinks of; innocent street corners become the temporary offices of underworld gangs, while restaurants, hotel parking lots and garages take on a sinister and secretive quality. Even Fenway Park and the Boston Garden become scenes of intrigue, masking the unsavory intentions of hoods and hit-men. From South Boston to downtown to the wealthy suburbs, Higgins' men turn familiar places into settings for hidden danger and violence.

Robert B. Parker. Mortal Stakes. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1975.

The first book in what is now a series of four featuring Spencer, the author's hard-boiled detective, a modern-day version of the detectives of Raymond Chandler and Dashiell Hammett. Spencer unravels a blackmail plot against a star Red Sox pitcher. In this and subsequent books Parker uses Boston and its metropolitan area more fully, displays a stronger appreciation of the physical and social city than do other authors who have recently set fiction here. The author pokes through the glossy surface of the travel poster and reveals a city that sweats, weeps, struts and lays back. Parker's books include some sharp social criticism as well—about suburbia in God Save the Child, university life

and student radicalism in The Godwulf Manuscript, woman's liberation and changing sex roles in The Promised Land.

Dan Wakefield. Starting Over. New York: Delacorte Press/Seymour Lawrence, 1973. (Paperback edition: Dell, 1974).

Public relations executive Potter lands in Boston after becoming divorced and takes a job teaching public communication at Gillen Junior College. The book satirizes the world of the "brownstone schools of higher education of Beacon Street...ranging from certified distinction of a minor sort to high-priced havens for middle-class kids who had nowhere else to go." Wakefield gives us an up-to-date view of the Boston world of young professionals, changing family and life styles. He recounts poignantly how lonely, single people experience the city.

SUPPLEMENTARY READING

Van Wyck Brooks. The Flowering of New England, 1815-1865. New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1936.

_____. New England: Indian Summer. New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1940.

These two volumes provide a comprehensive literary history of nineteenth-century New England writers, including major ones whose books are listed above.

Frances Weston Carruth, Fictional Rambles in and about Boston. New York: Mclure, Phillips and Co., 1902. (Reprint: Richard West, 1973).

Carruth carefully plots the location of scenes from Boston fiction. Organized according to

several sections of the city.

George Arthur Dunlap, The City in the American Novel, 1789-1900. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1934. (Reprint: Russell, 1965).

Separate sections on New York, Philadelphia and Boston, that, as the book's subtitle indicates, portray contemporary conditions in these cities.

Morton and Lucia White. The Intellectual Versus the City. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962.

This controversial piece of intellectual history analyzes the mostly negative and occasionally positive images of the city of several authors including some who wrote about Boston--Hawthorne, Adams, Henry James and William Dean Howells.

Howard Mumford Jones and Bessie Zaban Jones. The Many Voices of Boston: A Historical Anthology, 1630-1975. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1975. (Paperback edition: Little, Brown, 1975).

A useful anthology that combines fiction and historical materials.

Boston An Urban Community

Painting in Boston, 1670-1970

An Annotated Reading List
Prepared by
Patricia Mullan Burnham
with the assistance of
the Boston Public
Library Staff

The "Boston: An Urban Community" Program is made possible by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH). The Boston Public Library is a NEH Learning Library.

Boston Public Library, 1977

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"Painting in Boston, 1670-1970" with Margaret Supplee Smith, Professor of Fine Arts, Boston University. September 14 - November 2, 1976.

INTRODUCTION

Despite the importance of Boston to the formation of our national culture, there does not exist a full-length, published study of the city's contribution to the visual arts. In 1968, Boston University held an exhibit for which the catalog, Boston Painters: 1720-1940, gives an excellent synopsis of the major artists associated with the city. There has also been a doctoral dissertation (unpublished) devoted to the subject, The Fine Arts in Boston: 1815 to 1879 by Jean Gordon (University of Wisconsin, 1965). (One can purchase a facsimile copy from Xerox University-Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan). A good nineteenth-century source is the series by William Howe Downes on "Boston Painters" in the September-December issues of the Atlantic Monthly, 1888. Martin Green's The Problem of Boston (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1966), although it is mainly concerned with literary Boston, probes with an acerbic pen some of the problems of patronage introduced by Downes.

The careers of Boston artists are inevitably intertwined with the institutions of the city. Walter Muir Whitehill's two-volume Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: A Centennial History (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1970) and Mabel Munson Swan's The Athenaeum Gallery, 1827-1873 (Boston: The Boston Athenaeum, 1940) provide the student with fine studies of two of the major art patrons of the city. Two of the art galleries founded in the early nineteenth century in Boston are still in existence today: Doll and Richards Gallery at 172 Newbury Street, and Vose Galleries at 238 Newbury Street. Beth A. Treadway has written a brief account of the Doll and Richards Gallery for the Archives of American Art Journal (Vol. 15, No. 1, 1975, pp. 12-14); Yankee Magazine published a longer story on the Vose Galler-

ies in September, 1973.

There was a time when much of American art was Boston art. This early period, which ended before the middle of the nineteenth century, is well documented in general histories of American art; materials for the later period, however, are more fugitive. A comprehensive history of American art by John Wilmerding has recently been published as part of the distinguished Pelican series, American Art (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1976). Or one might choose Edgar P. Richardson's A Short History of Painting in America (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1963) or Matthew Baigell's A History of American Painting (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971). Richardson's leisurely, scholarly account relates American achievements to the major art movements of Europe. Baigell's shorter, pithier book contains acute insights into the unique art historical conditions obtaining in the United States. Barbara Novak's brilliant analytical study, American Painting of the Nineteenth Century (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1969) focuses on selected painters, including Bostonians Copley, Allston, Lane, and Homer, to exemplify her thesis that the realistic tradition is the basic mode of American art.

This bibliography is the result of "Boston Painting: 1770-1970," a sequence offered in the Learning Library Program at the Boston Public Library and funded by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. Margaret Supplee Smith, Assistant Professor of Art History at Boston University, taught the sequence during October and November, 1976.

PURITAN AND COLONIAL BOSTON

The few paintings surviving from the seventeenth century were meticulously surveyed by Louisa Dresser in 1935, in her Seventeenth-Century Painting in New England (Worcester, Mass.: The Worcester Art Museum). The most recent addition to the scholarly literature is a report by the annual Winterthur Conference, American Painting to 1776: A Reappraisal, by Ian M.G. Quimby (1971). First Flowers of Our Wilderness by James Thomas Flexner (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1969) remains a useful introduction to the period.

Henry Wilder Foote has written definitive studies of two of Boston's outstanding early painters: Robert Feke: Colonial Portrait Painter (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1930) and John Smibert, Painter (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950).

Jules D. Prown's massive, two-volume catalogue raisonné, John Singleton Copley (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966) is the first art historical study undertaken with the aid of a computer. Prown also did a shorter and less intimidating essay for an exhibit of Copley's works that appeared at the Museum of Fine Arts in 1965/66. Alfred Victor Frankenstein's The World of Copley (New York: Time-Life Books, 1970) is an excellent brief guide to Copley's works and to the context in which they were painted.

REVOLUTIONARY AND FEDERAL BOSTON

The visual artifacts of revolutionary and Federal Boston are amply illustrated in the catalog of the Bicentennial exhibit, Paul Revere's Boston, 1735-1818 (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1975). Another Bicen-

tennial exhibit, Copley, Stuart and West in America and England (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1976) brings together interesting conjunctions of the three painters. Yet a third Bicentennial exhibit, Paintings by New England Provincial Artists, 1775-1800 (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1976) provides not only a foil for the study of cosmopolitan painting in Boston, but also rare insight into the struggle to form a national style in the aftermath of the Revolution.

Lawrence Park's four-volume work, Gilbert Stuart (New York: W. E. Rudge, 1926) has not yet been superseded. Much more accessible, however, is the catalog of the Rhode Island School of Design exhibit in 1967, Gilbert Stuart: Portraitist of the Young Republic (Meriden, Conn.: The Meriden Gravure Co., 1967). Finally, Charles Merrill Mount has written a biography, Gilbert Stuart (New York: W. W. Norton, 1964).

THE ROMANTIC ERA IN BOSTON

Edgar P. Richardson's Washington Allston: A Study of the Romantic Artist in America (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, Apollo Editions, 1967) is the outstanding work on the beloved hero of the romantic decades of the 1820's and 1830's in Boston. Learned and gracefully written, it considers Allston in the light of the international movement, Romanticism. The chapter on Allston in Barbara Novak's American Painting of the Nineteenth Century illuminates some of the special problems posed by Allston's work.

The work of the early genre painter, Alvan Fisher, has been summarized by Robert C. Vose, Jr. in "Alvan Fisher," Connecticut Historical Society Bulletin (Vol. 27, October, 1962).

The Bostonian counterpart to the Hudson River

School of landscape painting was its romance with the sea. John Wilmerding has written eloquently of several of Boston's painters of the sea: Robert Salmon, Painter of Ship and Shore (Salem, Mass. and Boston: Peabody Museum of Salem and Boston Public Library, 1971); Fitz Hugh Lane (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971; and Winslow Homer (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972). In addition, two general studies, Wilmerding's A History of American Marine Painting (Salem and Boston: Peabody Museum of Salem and Little, Brown and Company, 1968) and Roger B. Stein's essay for the Whitney Museum of Art, Seascape and the American Imagination (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, Inc., 1975) bring a historical perspective to the subject. Homer is also the subject of two other excellent monographs: Winslow Homer, American Artist, by Albert Ten Eyck Gardner (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, 1961), and Winslow Homer by Lloyd Goodrich (New York: G. Braziller, 1959). His achievements as a wood engraver in Boston and later, in New York, are discussed in The Wood Engravings of Winslow Homer, edited by Barbara Gelman (New York: Bounty Books, 1969).

BARBIZON ART IN BOSTON

Indispensable to an understanding of this rich but neglected phase of nineteenth-century art in Boston is American Art in the Barbizon Mood, published for the National Collection of Fine Arts in Washington, D. C. by the Smithsonian Institution Press in 1975. The text by Peter Bermingham includes an extensive bibliography with separate annotations for each artist. Bermingham's book is not about Boston, but because of the historic role played by William Morris Hunt and Boston in introducing French avant-garde landscape painting to this country, Boston painters form a significant part of his book.

The outstanding artist of the Civil War era in Boston was William Morris Hunt, whom Bermingham considers at length in his book. The first modern edition of Hunt's elliptical, aphoristic teachings, Instructions to Art Students, was published by Dover Publications, Inc., in 1976. Helen M. Knowlton, one of Hunt's students, wrote Art-Life of William Morris Hunt (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1899), an exaggeratedly loyal but informative memoir that can sometimes be found in the collection of one's public library.

Another contemporary account, Truman H. Bartlett's The Art Life of William Rimmer (Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co., 1882) often turns up at the public library. A more recent account of Rimmer's work is Lincoln Kirsten's "William Rimmer: His Life and Art," Massachusetts Review (Summer, 1961, pp. 685-716). Rimmer's own Art Anatomy, combining his experience as physician, artist, and draughtsman, was published in paperback in 1963 by Dover Books, Inc.

Less well known than either Hunt or Rimmer is Albion Bicknell, whose portrait of Abraham Lincoln hangs in the Doric Room of the State House. Wayne Craven has described his work in "Albion Harris Bicknell, 1837-1915," Antiques (September, 1974, pp. 443-449).

BOSTON IN THE GILDED AGE

One of the best descriptions of fin-de-siecle Boston is Louise Hall Tharp's Mrs. Jack (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1965), a biography of the doyenne of the Back Bay, Isabella Stewart Gardner. Although Mrs. Tharp's attitude occasionally verges on heroine-worship, her research is generally sound. Sargent's Boston (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1956),

the catalog of the centenary celebration of Mrs. Gardner's portraitist, John Singer Sargent, is a witty portrayal of both the man and his patrons. David McKibbin, head of the Art Department at the Boston Athenaeum, who wrote the catalog essay, knows his Boston well.

Books about Sargent abound. Two of the more recent are Richard Ormond's John Singer Sargent (New York: Harper and Row, 1976), replete with sumptuous color plates, and Donelson Hoopes's The Private World of John Singer Sargent, catalog essay for the Corcoran Gallery of Art (Washington, D. C.: Corcoran Gallery of Art, 1964). Tastes in Sargent paintings have changed over the years, and in the absence of a catalogue raisonné of his work, it is wise to consult one of the older studies, too, such as Evan Charteris's John Sargent (New York: C. Scribner's Son, 1927).

Sargent and other American Impressionists have been the subject of increased scholarly attention in recent years. Donelson F. Hoopes in The American Impressionists (New York: Watson-Guptill Publications, 1972) and Richard J. Boyle, American Impressionism (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1974) describe the group of American painters who flocked to Paris in the generation after William Morris Hunt, and whose art was characterized by the divided brushstroke and lightened palette of Impressionism.

Hoopes's book, which is the better of the two, has entries not only on Sargent, but also on three great teachers at the Boston Museum School, Frank W. Benson, Joseph O. de Camp, and Edmund G. Tarbell. There are no published monographs on these men, nor is there a history of the School for which they worked. The recent catalog, Art in Transition: A Century of the Museum School (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1977) marks the beginning of belated acknowledgement of the

contribution of the School to the development of the fine arts in Boston. Benson, de Camp, and Tarbell are included, however, in the Metropolitan Museum catalog, American Impressionist and Realist Paintings and Drawings (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1973), along with John La Farge, who painted in Boston during one phase of his career, and Dennis Bunker, who was a protege of Mrs. Gardner. Bunker has been the subject of a monograph, Dennis Miller Bunker, by Museum School graduate Robert H.I. Gammell (New York: Coward-McCann, 1953), which will offend some because of its antimodernist stance. It is, however, a sensitive and perceptive study not only of Bunker himself but of the world in which he tried to eke out a living, and of the artistic principles which he espoused.

In addition, there have been some publications about other local painters who worked in the Impressionist idiom. In 1974, the Museum of Fine Arts published a small catalog essay on A. C. Goodwin, and in 1972 Patricia J. Pierce and Rolf H. Kristiansen published a catalog, John J. Enneking: American Impressionist Painter (North Abington, Mass.: Pierce Galleries).

POSTSCRIPT

Boston, in addition to having been the birthplace of countless aspiring artists, is also the repository of many outstanding works of American art. The Museum of Fine Arts, for example, has more Copleys than any other museum in the world. It also owns a little-known treasure trove of works by William Morris Hunt. The Fogg Museum at Harvard includes among its riches significant paintings by Allston and others, in addition to an outstanding collection of earlier works. Nor are such art

holdings limited to museums. Harvard University has portraits by Copley, Stuart, Hunt and Sargent hanging on its walls. Downtown hospitals frequently own distinguished portraits of founders and benefactors, and sometimes even contemporary masterpieces as well. The Boston Public Library has a Copley of its own, and extraordinary murals by Sargent in its collection. The student is urged to avail himself or herself of the holdings in the Boston area, in addition to reading from selected bibliographies. A useful guide to Boston collections will be another Boston Public Library publication scheduled in 1977, Check-List of Early American Paintings in the Greater Boston Area.

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Law, Justice, and Equality: Case Studies from the Boston Experience

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INTRODUCTION

A gap, which appears at times cavernous, exists between the public's approach to today's controversies and the way in which the legal profession, to whom the resolution of those controversies is largely entrusted, thinks and talks about the same issues. This reading list is a small attempt to bridge that gap. It grows out of the course "Law, Justice, and Equality: Case Studies from the Boston Experience," given in the spring of 1976, as part of the Learning Library Program, by Professor William A. Davis, Jr., of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. While all the materials employed in the course are included, a number of books and articles not suggested at the time have been added. The annotator recognizes that the direction of the lectures and accompanying discussions and the directions in which this list may lead the reader are not necessarily the same. A reading list, however, can make an independent statement while at the same time recapitulating the course it accompanies. The list follows the division of Professor Davis's course into four sections, each taking a specific issue current in Boston and expanding to a discussion of the legal atmosphere surrounding recent developments. The four sections are:

1) Landlord-Tenant Relations: The Changing Law and the Emergence of the Boston Housing Court
2) The Park Plaza Redevelopment Controversy: Administrative Discretion and the Dictates of Law
3) The Movement to Reform the Lower Criminal Courts: The Legal Profession and the Quality of Justice
4) School Desegregation and Its Implementation

The reader will note that each section includes writings both descriptive of the controversies (or taking one side) and philosophical. The latter, most

of them gathered in two anthologies, might be read together as an introduction to the philosophy of law. They are the items numbered 4,5,6,13,14, and 17.

Finally, each item added to the list of assigned course reading has been given a letter as well as the number of that assigned piece it is logically connected with. (Item 6a, for instance.)

A.H.

I: Landlord-Tenant Law and the Emergence of the Boston Housing Court

In this first section, Professor Davis's theme was the shifting balance in American landlord/tenant law, a progression paralleling, and often following at some distance, changes in the economic realities of housing in this country. The readings fall into several categories: overview, policy analysis, guidelines for activism, and philosophical background to legal developments.

1. Frank I. Michelman, "The Law of Urban Housing," in Harold J. Berman, ed., Talks on American Law (New York: Vintage, 1971), pp. 230-249.

   This is a 1970 discussion of trends in American landlord-tenant law; many of the major Massachusetts changes following these trends have occurred since then. Michelman describes the force traditional--medieval--land law has exerted until recently: the emphasis on "productive" use of the land led to strong protections for the landlord, whose tenant was supposed to be generating wealth, not simply housing himself. At the same time, traditional land law expressed the idea that property should be disposed of as the owner saw fit, a reluctance to interfere with free-market economics. But unregulated use of property, and agricultural economics, bear little relation to the housing market of the 1970s, Michelman notes, and he calls for "sophisticated" legal concepts to replace those that lag behind changing economics. While he notes that inadequate tenant bargaining power is at the root of many problems today, and suggests that approaching the problem solely through the courtroom may lead to an undesired reduction in low-cost housing, Michelman does not venture beyond general

suggestions, such as that government might become more active in aid for financing.

2. Chester W. Hartman, Housing and Social Policy (Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1975), pp. 59-84.

Hartman's book is a thorough summary of the American housing scene, discussing the economics and law involved in new construction as well as existing housing, in home ownership as well as in rental housing, and the range of government policies that have been directed towards the continuing problem. In the section focussed on here, he discusses the importance of the existing housing stock to tenants, the impact of housing codes and their enforcement, and the possibilities of rehabilitation programs, as well as the often adversary relationship between landlord and tenant. The reasons why policies to date have failed and advances in the law have not led directly to improvement in the housing supply are detailed; if Hartman seems finally pessimistic, it may be because he senses a negative answer to his basic question: whether the right to decent housing is compatible with a profit system.

3. Cambridge Tenants Organizing Committee, Legal Tactics (Handbook for Massachusetts Tenants), (Cambridge, 1975).

CTOC's handbook is tactical in the sense that it details procedures tenants can use in courts and in administrative hearings. It also expresses a political point of view about landlord-tenant relations and about the proper way to approach them: through organization by tenants rather than through reliance on results in the legal process. "The law is not neutral," CTOC

says, but weighted towards landlords because written and administered by members of the landlord class. Reforms cannot change basic property relations, nor are they intended to; the real aim of the legal system is to defuse tenant organization and to preserve the profitable business of most landlords by doing a modest amount of policing to keep the most blatantly unjust under control. The trouble with housing codes, from CTOC's point of view, is that they are not stringently enforced; this counters Hartman's view that enforcement is, or is likely to be, strong enough to cause wholesale abandonment by landlords and ultimate damage to tenants. The difference is that CTOC is calling tenants to action to better their living conditions, while Hartman, who may share the same end of tenant control of housing, is less sanguine in his analysis of the effects of that action.

Legal Tactics contains appendices with texts of the key Massachusetts statutes, regulations, and court decisions affecting tenants. As a tool for current use, it is updated by the organization from time to time.

4. Richard McKeon, "Justice and Equality," in Carl J. Friedrich and John W. Chapman, eds., Nomos VI: Justice, (New York: Lieber-Atherton, 1963, 1974), pp. 44-61.

McKeon, a philosopher, speculates on the development of the concept of equality, an idea he sees growing through history as more and more people are included among those to be counted "equal." He posits three periods: in the first, the relation of society to the ruler was the critical question. In the second, it was the relation of the individual to society; questions of individual rights were in focus in the revolu-

tionary period of the eighteenth century. McKeon sees the twentieth century as a third period, in which manipulation of the majority of society--the tyranny of prevailing opinion--has become the prime question, since rule of the majority (democracy) has been accepted. In the modern period, the relation of private to public has become the center of attention, and questions of economic equality dominate; while in the eighteenth century, freedom of speech, religion, and assembly were most sought by revolutionaries, twentieth-century revolutionaries are concerned with freedom from want and from economic discrimination. The vocabularies of the earlier struggles are no longer appropriate; but McKeon proposes that the contradictions between desired equalities may be fruitfully explored, and that there is no "master plan" laid down by the use of reason, rather a continuing need to reexamine preconceptions which is a sign of healthy progress.

5. A. M. Honoré, "Social Justice," in Robert S. Summers, ed., Essays in Legal Philosophy (Oxford: Basil Blackwell; Berkeley; University of California Press, 1968), pp. 61-94.

Like McKeon, Honoré regards the twentieth century as radically different from earlier periods He summarizes various forms of "justice" explored by philosophers (he suggests six) and extracts from them principles relevant to social justice. In twentieth-century thinking, social justice has taken the place of the "just man" standard of individual ethics dating back to Aristotle. Honoré proposes that social justice is something each individual has a claim to regardless of conduct or deserts; allocation according to need and conformity to rule are subordinate aspects. The claim to an equal share in social goods is not

equivalent to a claim to equal treatment; the underprivileged may be treated preferentially. Honoré recognizes that social justice is a radical principle, opposed in many instances to other social ideals (liberty, for one), but he holds that in the long run it is the only principle likely to bring social stability.

II: The Park Plaza Controversy: Administrative Discretion and the Dictates of Law

The second section of the course focussed on the exercise of discretion by those who administer the law; the case studied was the history of disapproval and then approval of Park Plaza redevelopment schemes by the Massachusetts Department of Community Affairs. Administrative discretion is an area in which there is little definition. In an increasingly bureaucratized society, it is also an area of growing importance; but in the literature of that branch of legal scholarship known generally as "administrative law," attention has been centered on determining which decisions are subject to discretion and which are not, rather than on the exercise itself. For present purposes, an article which attempts a philosophical inquiry into the sources of administrative authority to make law--the source of power from which the use of discretion follows--is augmented with a polemic that, considering the circumstances of urban renewal decision-making, calls into question some of the assumptions of the first article.

6. Clarence Morris, "Law, Justice, and the Public's Aspirations," in Carl J. Friedrich and John W. Chapman, eds., Nomos VI: Justice (New York: Lieber-Atherton, 1963, 1974), pp. 170-190.

Lawmakers are agents of the public; justice results when they consciously advance the public's

interests, although they may act without a clear understanding of those interests, or may fail to act for other reasons. To Morris, legislative bodies are clearly the proper agents. But since legislation proceeds slowly, courts and administrators are called into the lawmaking role also. In a number of historical instances judges have made law in periods when legislatures failed to keep step with social change. Morris suggests that when it is left to the courts to make law, advocates become crucial to the process, both because they further the use of existing legal remedies in new situations and because they act to check the freedom of judges to innovate. He can be said here to be offering theoretical support for the "adversary" system of justice; in addition, his insights into the role of advocates can be applied to the same role taken before administrative bodies, who are like judges entrusted with the power to make "law."

Beyond the well-defined roles of the legislatures and the courts, Morris sees a wider "justice of social obligations" that exists without governmental intervention. It arises out of the folk character, like a people's language, and the operation of government is necessary only when a breakdown in the system of social understandings leaves a vacuum. Morris calls for greater recognition of the role of private institutions and transactions in creating justice; he would have the public aspirations which lie behind social transactions more closely examined. With the increased understanding thus derived, law and with it justice can be created without the often lengthy recourse to legislatures and courts.

6a. Robert Goodman, After the Planners (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1971).

A founder of Urban Planning Aid, a Boston group formed in the 1960s to fight top-down urban renewal planning, Goodman attacks the elitism of the city planning movement. He has been involved in "advocacy planning"--a channel designed to provide some community input into planning decisions by making the process essentially adversary--but he sees this as a failure because the only real power is concentrated in the hands of the business interests behind renewal. He is also concerned with debunking the myth of the neutral professional involved in urban planning. Ultimately, says Goodman, the answer must be a shift in wealth and power; any planning from the top, whether under capitalism or state socialism, implies a loss of the community's power to control its way of life.

Goodman's book calls into question the idea that private transactions can lead to justice in decisions like planning choices, where there is a basic inequality of power among the groups affected. While he does not draw the conclusion that planning decisions made by adjudicatory procedures will produce justice, given an inequality among the parties, it would seem to follow that the more formal the decision-making process, the more chance the interests of the less powerful will be protected.

III: The Movement to Reform the Lower Criminal Courts: The Legal Profession and the Quality of Justice

In the third section, the state of the lower court reform movement was analyzed. Readings include a report which was important in casting light on problems in the system in 1969, and a recent article by a

court administrator on progress since then. The attitude of the legal profession towards court reform, and the nature of the profession itself, was examined in a number of writings. Included are the views of lawyers and nonlawyers with widely divergent philosophical and political assumptions.

7. Stephen R. Bing and S. Stephen Rosenfeld, The Quality of Justice in the Lower Criminal Courts of Metropolitan Boston (Boston: Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, 1970).

The report of a 1969 survey of Boston's lower (district) criminal courts concluded that conditions in these courts, which affect poor people chiefly, "seriously abuse principles of fairness and due process." The authors concentrated on the procedures followed in the lower courts by judges, police prosecutors, and bail commissioners and bondsmen. The caseload consisted largely of minor traffic offenses and drunkeness offenses; and the operation of the lower courts took place within the trial de novo system, which theoretically ensured each defendant's constitutional right to a jury trial by allowing him a second chance in the superior court. In practice, however, the de novo system served to obscure the practices of the lower courts, which were not reviewed when the new trial began; and the right to a jury trial was effectively denied to those defendants in district court threatened with imposition of sentence or other sanctions if they sought the new trial. The report is heavily documented, the authors'design being to prompt reform through exposure. While their basic proposal was abolition of the de novo system altogether, Bing and Rosenfield recognized that so basic a change was unlikely soon, and they proposed also alternative, less sweeping, reforms. Increased parti-

cipation of the organized bar in Massachusetts was also called for.

The Bail Reform Act of 1972, and other changes since The Quality of Justice was written, have remedied some of the problems Bing and Rosenfeld described. The reader will note, however, that the movement to reform Massachusetts district courts continues, most noticeably in early 1977 with the Cox Commission report.

8. Jerome S. Berg, "The District Courts in Massachusetts: Making Decentralization Work," in Judicature, Vol. 59, no. 7 (February, 1976), pp. 344-352.

An administrator for the Massachusetts district courts surveys self-improvement efforts in the five years prior to 1976; he does not mention the 1970 Bing and Rosenfeld report as an element in pressure for reform. According to Berg, the major achievement in the district courts in this period has been an upgrading through administrative measures, preserving what he sees as the cardinal virtue of the system, the decentralized structure of the lower courts. While Berg notes that an end to the de novo system itself is under study, he suggests that strengthening the current two level system is a more realistic immediate goal. He does not draw the obvious conclusion that strengthening the system will forestall change indefinitely; his concern seems to be more with the integrity of the court system (its repute, in effect), than with the treatment it affords defendants, the central focus of the Bing and Rosenfeld study. He does, however, join the earlier writers in suggesting the time is ripe for lesser reforms, such as improved record-keeping.

9. John J. Bonsignore, et al., eds., Before the Law: An Introduction to the Legal Process (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1974).

This book is a recent entry in a new category: textbooks on law for nonlaw students. Thus, while in format like a law text in including the reports of a number of cases crucial to an understanding of legal concepts, it is not, like traditional law texts, restricted almost entirely to the writings of appellate court judges, whose opinions are naturally circumscribed by their role and social status. Instead, the editors have assembled a wide range of analytical writing, journalistic accounts, political thought, and other materials designed to cast light on the "legal process." In the anthology format the reader is free to draw conclusions, but the bent of the editors is evident in some of their organizational choices: the section on "law, status, wealth, and power," for instance, suggests by its title alone categories traditional law study chooses not to recognize. The selections assembled under the heading "The Lawyer and Social Reform," in Chapter 3, are of particular interest in relation to items 10,11,12, and 12a below, and to the question of the role lawyers themselves can take in efforts towards institutional change. They include a collection of responses to the working of one of the nation's best-known legal services projects in the 1960s.

10. Harold J. Berman, ed. Talks on American Law (New York, Vintage, 1971), Chapters II, III, IV, V, and XVII, pp. 19-75, 250-263.

A series of radio talks on American law prepared for the United States Information Agency in 1959 and updated in 1970. The authors, all

Harvard professors, discuss in the chapters cited the judge's role, the adversary system, trial by jury, rights of the accused in criminal trials, and the legal profession. The format, which required brevity and a degree of superficiality, and the apparent sympathies of the authors, combine to produce a generally uncritical effect. Thus Fuller's article on the adversary system seems to assume an equality of resources among the parties to a dispute; Hall suggests that the legal profession has made various rights available to the accused. The former is typical of a number of normative statements in these articles which are given as descriptive; the latter is an example of the ahistorical cast of the writing, as it passes over the long struggle for certain of the rights in question, a struggle often retarded rather than advanced by the legal profession. Onthe whole the articles in the Berman collection may be taken as an apology for the American legal system; criticism is muted. As Berman notes in his preface that "no censorship" was a condition he exacted from the USIA, the reader must assume that the writers were satisfied with the state of American law in 1959 and in 1970.

11. Robert Lefcourt, ed. Law Against the People: Essays to Demystify Law, Order, and the Courts (New York: Vintage, 1971).

This collection of essays may be taken as the antithesis to Berman's book. The writers include civil rights lawyers, voices from various antiestablishment groups of the late 1960s, and nonlawyers analyzing the law from a left economic and political standpoint.

The authors are concerned with the role radicals may or may not be able to take in the Amer-

ican legal system. Recognition of the class nature of the system is seen as basic in approaching this problem; there is general agreement that law itself cannot effect fundamental change, which will occur only with economic reordering. The neutrality of the law is a myth; those who wish to use the law to bring about change must consider whether their role is simply to expose the contradictions inherent in the system, or whether it is in some larger sense (suggested in Arthur Kinoy's article on the radical lawyer and teacher of law) to work towards a resolution of the contradictions. The uncertainty as to the lawyer's role expressed in this anthology continues among those who brought activist attitudes from the 1960s into the study or practice of law. For further expressions of the same conflicts, see Jonathan Black, ed., Radical Lawyers (New York: Avon, 1971).

12. Jerold S. Auerbach, Unequal Justice: Lawyers and Social Change in Modern America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976).

A social historian who was once a law student adds perspective to the debate between the attitudes expressed in the Berman and Lefcourt anthologies. Auerbach is concerned chiefly with the elite of the legal profession since the end of the nineteenth century, and he concludes with the observation that in the era of Vietnam and of Watergate, "legitimate authority" has been stripped from those institutions, including the law, which have seemed the bulwark of society. To Auerbach the future portends great change, about which he is not optimistic.

Auerbach pictures a profession which likes to think of itself as having grown from a field for principled individual effort (the Abraham Lincoln myth) into one "led" by highly efficient large firms enabling American society and its economy to run smoothly. The reality, he says, is that the profession has always been highly stratified, and has consistently protected itself against expansion, particularly against the entry of immigrant lawyers into its higher echelons. Legal education and the ethical codes established by the profession are analyzed in this light. The New Deal, Auerbach suggests, was a period of great upheaval in the profession, but one which gave way to a consolidation typified by idealistic young New Deal lawyers going to work for the industries they had been involved in regulating. In light of this experience, one might find Auerbach's sense that a real change will come out of the upheavals of the 1960s unsound; but he is not claiming to know the future, only to give a solid account of the past from a viewpoint that has been generally unrepresented in legal history. For this reason Unequal Justice is particularly valuable.

12a. John A. Robertson, ed., Rough Justice: Perspectives on Lower Criminal Courts (Boston: Little Brown, 1974).

This anthology incorporates parts of the Bing and Rosenfeld report; it makes the point, important to remember in reading the latter, that reform efforts are cyclical, in Massachusetts occurring about every ten years. The appearance in early 1977 of the Cox Commission report on the criminal courts buttresses the point.

In his introduction, Robertson discusses the effect (or lack of effect) of past reform ef-

forts, and the "orthodox explanation" for lower court problems--that there has not been a devotion of resources equal to the task of reform, and that structural elements resist change. He proposes instead that reformers understand all the functions of lower courts before they propose structural change. This is essentially a call for a form of functional analysis. Beyond the ostensible purpose of dispensing justice, these courts exist for a number of reasons: to protect superior courts from drains on time and resources; to maintain social order; to resolve disputes; to reinforce the social dominance of the idea of legality; and for internal bureaucratic goals common to many structures--the self-justifying high level of "production" which satisfies functionaries and gives grounds for continued support from those in authority and from the people. The particular value of this collection of articles is that the reader is acquainted with the functional realities of court operation which fall outside of the justice-dispensing role reformers and defenders of the courts alike focus on.

13. John Rawls, "Justice as Fairness," in Edward A. Kent, ed., Law and Philosophy: Readings in Legal Philosophy (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1970), pp. 490-497.

The first of a pair of articles chosen to cast theoretical light on the nature of reform and of the legal profession. Rawls's piece is an early draft for studies which eventually resulted in his long work A Theory of Justice. His principal claim is that utilitarianism, which has been the dominant strain in legal philosophy, is unable to account for fairness, the fundamental concept in the idea of justice. Rawls takes

what could be called a neocontractualist line of thought; essentially, justice inheres in institutions that allow for no circumscription of individual rights until the holders of those rights begin, in their exercise, to interfere with each other. If all parties to an agreement mutually acknowledge a set of principles governing that agreement, then fairness is achieved. The utilitarians differ in looking for the grestest possible total benefit; in their balancing of gain and loss, they countenance situations in which there is no conceivable benefit to one (a slave, for instance) so long as there is a greater benefit for all.

14. John W. Chapman, "Justice and Fairness," in John W. Chapman and Carl J. Friedrich, eds., Nomos VI: Justice (New York: Lieber-Atherton, 1963, 1974), pp. 147-170.

Answering Rawls, Chapman argues that the "Contract" Rawls proposes is too grounded in the idea of reciprocity, and that other considerations, need and natural right, must be taken more into account. Historically, Chapman says, utilitarianism was an advance on contractualism, because the latter called only for fairness in actual dealings, and was not concerned with the consequences of an agreement fairly entered into. Both the concept of fairness, which Chapman equates with reciprocity, and the concept of justice, which assesses the outcomes of agreements, must be kept in mind. Both concerns are rooted in the moral nature of personality, expressing a sense of what is owed to us as persons.

IV: School Desegregation and its Implementation

In the final section of the course, the problem of school desegregation was examined in its historical aspect--the background of the 1954 Brown decision--and in its current aspect--implementation of the 1965 Racial Imbalance Act under court order. While Massachusetts is unique in some ways--school desegregation was an issue here before the Civil War, and the Racial Imbalance Act was the first enactment of its kind by a state legislature--in other ways the state of school desegregation here is typical of northern industrial states. The struggle against de jure segregation in the south is all but over; minority members in the major population centers now face the seemingly intractable problem of de facto segregation, due as much to economic as to racial discrimination. The readings look into both Massachusetts history and the larger national issue.

15. Richard Kluger, Simple Justice: The History of Brown v. Board of Education and Black America's Struggle for Equality (New York: Knopf, 1976).

Simple Justice is a thorough, lucid, highly readable account of the events and personalities behind the Supreme Court's 1954 Brown v. Board of Education decision holding segregation of schools unconstitutional. Kluger, a journalist, employs a dramatic structure in recounting the concentrated effort of a small group of NAACP lawyers and their allies to bring about a basic social change through the courts. The book has weaknesses--southern society is made to appear somewhat one-dimensional, the economics of segregation are not adequately dealt with, and Kluger's projections into the future are sketchy, particularly with regard to the now central issue of de facto segregation--but this is a

vivid account of the politics of the pre-Brown period, of the dedication of the legal activists who made the case, and of the fruition of their labors.

15a. Frank Levy, Northern Schools and Civil Rights: The Racial Imbalance Act of Massachusetts (Chicago: Markham Co., 1971).

This study of the 1965 Act, itself in one sense part of the implementation of Brown, provides food for thought about the current Boston school controversy. Levy amasses statistical evidence to support his thesis that the Act, like most Civil Rights acts, was passed by those legislators representing constituents not directly affected by its implementation; the implication that school desegregation, or other civil-rights legislation affecting life in the Boston suburbs will be hard or impossible to pass is clear.

15b. Leonard Levy and Douglas L. Jones, eds. Jim Crow in Boston: The Origin of the Separate but Equal Doctrine (New York: Da Capo, 1974).

Boston schools were desegregated by law long before slavery itself was abolished in the United States. Levy and Jones have collected basic documents surrounding the 1849 Roberts decision, which upheld segregation but which was overturned by the Massachusetts legislature only six years later. In the introduction Levy points out how the words of Massachusetts Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw in Roberts were used--tenuously--by the United States Supreme Court in Plessy v. Ferguson, the 1896 case which legitimized segregation in American public schools until 1954.

16. Derrick A. Bell, Jr., ed. Race and Racism in American Law (Boston: Little-Brown, 1973), pp. 431-606.

In format, Bell's is the typical law school casebook, emphasizing, in the section chosen, the texts of a large number of appellate court opinions on the topic of school desegregation and equal educational opportunity. The reader will find both Brown decisions, and the major cases following Brown II, the implementation decision that established the "with all deliberate speed" standard for school desegregation. This edition does not include some of the most important decisions affecting the de facto segregation controversy, on cases which have begun or have reached the higher courts since the date of publication: San Antonio Independent School District v. Rodriguez, in 1973, Milliken v. Bradley, the 1974 Detroit decision, and later cases. On the whole Bell's choices indicate the legal system's unwillingness to recognize inequalities of wealth as the basic category in which a good deal of the "desegregation" controversy should be considered; he does, on the other hand, establish as separate topics northern school litigation after Brown and alternatives to integrated education (discussing specifically the arguments between advocates for systematic integration and supporters of community-controlled schools). While the law of school desegregation continues to be made, rendering any collection of cases such as Bell's quickly obsolete, the reader will discover in the materials collected here the background to, and the basic vocabulary used in, the current litigation.

17. Isaiah Berlin, "Equality as an Ideal," in Frederick A. Olafson, ed., Justice and Social Policy (New York: Prentice-Hall, Spectrum, 1961), pp. 128-149.

The Brown decision of 1954 broke with previous Supreme Court doctrine in the field of public education by rejecting the idea that separate schools for blacks could be equal to those maintained for the white majority. In this final selection the philosopher Isaiah Berlin grapples with the problem whether the ideal of "equality" can be taken out of the various contexts in which it is discussed, in order to define it clearly. Berlin suggests that while there is general agreement that it is natural to treat each member of a class equally, unless there is sufficient reason for not doing so, two issues are left open: what constitutes sufficient reason in a given case? and what class are the parties concerned seen to be members of? Attacks on inequality come from two directions: first, from a belief in the "natural rights" of individuals; and second, from a set of rational principles. The second is the more extensive point of view, as the definition of natural rights may be very limited; it may lead, for instance, to the view that with minimal requirements of equality individuals in society should be left to take advantage of another, conflicting ideal--liberty--to succeed or fail according to their individual characteristics. Berlin concludes that the compatibility of equality with other aims such as liberty is not deducible from any general principles; instead, all ethical and political systems arrive at a compromise between the conflicting ideals.

Boston An Urban Community

Shaping the Boston Landscape: Drumlins and Puddingstone

An Annotated Reading List
Prepared by
George K. Lewis &
Robert Kaye
with the assistance of
the Boston Public
Library Staff

The "Boston: An Urban Community" Program is made possible by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH). The Boston Public Library is a NEH Learning Library.

Boston Public Library, 1977

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FOREWORD

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INTRODUCTION

Few cities in the world have had as much written about them as Boston. Yet, like so many other large cities, almost nothing has been written about its geography, especially its physical geography.

The initial settlement of Boston and its subsequent expansion to metropolitan scale over hundreds of square miles of eastern Massachusetts have been influenced by differences in local topography, by river courses and coastal features, by tidal marshes and depth to bedrock, and by a variety of other characteristics of the Boston region.

Man has been constantly trying to adapt this land to his needs and in so doing, has greatly altered the original Boston landscape in many ways. Hills have been leveled, bays and coves filled, rivers dammed, and ponds drained. The resident of today is often quite unaware of the magnitude of these changes or "how things used to look."

The references in this bibliography represent the best of a lean selection that illuminates this shadowy and poorly-known aspect of Boston.

Crosby, Irving B. Boston Through the Ages. Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1928.

A delightful book that contains in its modest number of pages (166), more information on Boston's geology and geomorphology than any book before or since. Time has not dimmed the luster of Crosby's brisk, readable essays. This book was intended for a reader who had never heard of such technical terms as "conglomerates" or "drumlins". Each essay is illustrated with photographs and sketches. A few of the photographs look almost Victorian, and one fears that some scenes may have been drastically altered or destroyed since 1928. Crosby includes a special section on "interesting localities" in Boston. Some energetic Bostonian of the '70's should check them out today to see how many have survived. A substantial bibliography includes books and articles, mostly geological, available at that time.

Laforge, Lawrence. Geology of the Boston Area, Massachusetts. U.S. Geological Survey Bulletin 839. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1932.

Laforge's description of Boston's bedrock geology and geomorphology is the most detailed and complete available. This slim book is packed with information about all the major rock types found both within and without the Boston Basin (shown on a map of the Boston area) as well as principal glacial features and surface materials (also shown on a large-scale map). The book is illustrated by a large number of photographs of various rock exposures, coastal features, eskers, etc., some of which no longer exist. Occasional use of mineral names will be

difficult for a non-geologist, but on the whole, Laforge will give the average person a good understanding of Boston's geology.

Seaburg, Carl. Boston Observed. Boston: Beacon Press, 1971.

Seaburg's Boston Observed is an affectionate and anecdotal history of the "Athens of New England." Hoping "to serve greater Bostonians somewhat as a family attic...," the book is generously interlaced with prints, photos, and memorabilia (e.g., a picture of the banner of the Boston Young Men's Total Abstinence Society, 1834, is included). The text is eminently readable and entertaining, portraying the large and the small events in the life of Boston and its citizenry. Between chapters are "interludes" of quotations from famous and forgotten sources contemporary to each historical period the author describes. A dearth of maps is the book's major shortcoming--just as street signs are absent from many of Boston's thoroughfares. Seaburg incorrectly assumes that if the reader doesn't know where things are, he or she doesn't belong there.

Shurtleff, Nathaniel B. A Topographical and Historical Description of Boston. Boston: Rockwell and Churchill, City Printers, 1871.

This solid work, the "grand-daddy" of all books on Boston's geography, does just what its title suggests. In some 690 pages, it covers the history of Boston (briefly), descriptions of the city by travelers (from William Wood in the seventeenth century on), detailed accounts of boundary changes, cemeteries, bridges, aque-

ducts, islands, taverns, and other interesting buildings. The harbor and its islands get considerably more attention than they do today. This is a very readable account, even packed with facts as it is. Most of them contribute to a better understanding of the city. There are a number of excellent maps and city views. Nothing like this book has been produced before or since--and remarkably good a century later!

Snow, Edward Rowe. The Romance of Boston Bay. Boston: The Yankee Publishing Company, 1944.

Edward Rowe Snow is Mr. Boston Harbor. No contemporary Bostonian can match his vast knowledge of the harbor, its islands, lighthouses, shipwrecks, ghosts, or legends. This particular book contains many of his best stories about the bay as well as a detailed description of each of the islands and their forts. Governor's Island, no longer existing, covers eleven pages. Snow then proceeds north and south of Boston to include descriptions of coastal features as far as Salem and Scituate. The final chapters treat two of Snow's favorite topics--Boston's lighthouses and her lightships. After his usual carefully documented history of each feature, Snow always has time for a story or two.

Thwing, Annie Haven. The Crooked and Narrow Streets of the Town of Boston, 1630-1822. Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1920.

An extraordinary description of the history of Boston up to 1822 hung on the framework of its streets. The Boston of the book is the original Shawmut Peninsula up to and including the Neck. The town is divided up into five regions, and

each section includes a detailed map of the area. Each street is labeled with the one or more names which it may have had, and important taverns, mills, churches, forts, windmills, etc. are noted. Each street is described in "Registry of Deeds" detail. The laying out, the allocation of lots sales and transfers, owners--no detail is overlooked. School Street covers six pages. There are a small number of illustrations and an overwhelming index.

Whitehill, Walter Muir. Boston: A Topographical History. Second Edition. Cambridge, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1968.

This is the classic work on Boston's geography familiar to most of today's residents. It was undoubtedly inspired by Whitehill's acquaintance with Nathaniel Shurtleff's monumental book some 90 years earlier (mentioned above) and upon which Whitehill draws upon occasion. This is a delightfully easy book to read, but have a street map on hand unless you are a Boston cab driver. Whitehill's "Boston" includes only the original Shawmut Peninsula, augmented by later landfill. There are occasional nods to other parts of the city or to neighboring municipalities. Unlike Shurtleff, this book is lavishly illustrated and rich in maps. There are no less than 116 "figures." Special attention is paid by Whitehill to the complex history of land reclamation in Boston, particularly in the Back Bay. Whitehill should be your starting point in trying to comprehend the Boston landscape.

(A paperback edition is available from Harvard University Press.)

Boston An Urban Community

The Way We Really Live: Social Change in Metropolitan Boston, Since 1920

An Annotated Reading List
Prepared by
Sam Bass Warner, Jr.
with the assistance of
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"Revolutionary Boston: The Leaders and the Issues, 1763-1789" with Richard Bushman, Professor of History, Boston University, September 16 - November 4, 1975.

"Culture and Its Conflicts: The Example of 19th-Century Boston" with Martin Green, Professor of English, Tufts University. September 18 - November 6, 1975.

"Boston's Artisans of the 18th Century" with Wendy Cooper, Assistant Curator, American Decorative Arts, Museum of Fine Arts. November 13, 1975 - January 22, 1976.

"Boston's Black Letters: From Phillis Wheatley to W.E.B. DuBois" with William Robinson, Chairman of Black Studies, Rhode Island College, November 18, 1975 - January 13, 1976.

"The Emerging Immigrants of Boston" with Andrew Buni, Professor of History, Boston College. February 4 - March 31, 1976.

"From Grass to Glass: A History of Boston's Architecture" with Gerald Bernstein, Professor of Art History, Brandeis University. February 5 - March 25, 1976.

"The American Revolution and the Common Man" with Robert Gross, Professor of History and American Studies, Amherst College. April 6 - May 25, 1976.

"Law, Justice, and Equality: Case Studies from the Boston Experience" with William Davis, Professor of Law and Urban Studies, M.I.T. April 8 - May 27, 1976.

"Painting in Boston, 1670-1970" with Margaret Supplee Smith, Professor of Fine Arts, Boston University. September 14 - November 2, 1976.

"After Strange Fruit: Changing Literary Taste in Post-World-War-II Boston" with P. Albert Duhamel, Professor of English, Boston College. September 16 - November 4, 1976.

"Images of Boston: Writers' Views of the City" with Robert Hollister, Professor of Urban Studies and Planning, M.I.T., September 18 - November 6, 1976.

"Growth and Development in the Boston Metropolis: The Union of Government and Economics-A Marriage of Convenience" with Donald Levitan, Professor of Public Administration, Suffolk University. November 16, 1976 - January 18, 1977.

"From the Psalm Book to the Symphony: Music in the Culture of Boston" with John Swan, Lecturer in English, Tufts University. November 18, 1976 - January 27, 1977.

"The Way We Really Live: Social Change in Metropolitan Boston, Since 1920" with Sam Bass Warner, Jr., Professor of History and Social Science, Boston University. February 3 - March 24, 1977.

INTRODUCTION

Never before in the history of mankind have so many people gathered into one human settlement as they do in today's metropolis. Boston in 1920 was a settlement of four millions, today a place of six and a half millions.

Never before in human settlements has work been so easy, and a population so wealthy. Yet never before has such a large proportion of a city's inhabitants worked for wages outside of their homes. Never have so many women ventured so far beyond their homes, and never have humans so easily and so consciously limited the number of their offspring.

Unlike earlier cities our metropolis is almost without farms; it is uniquely a place of machines. Yet trees canopy four-fifths of the land.

Never before have city dwellers been subject to such a sustained barrage of messages from strangers, yet most Bostonians can and do retreat into a privacy which formerly was the privilege of the wealthiest few.

No one of us can experience our metropolis in its entirety. It is too large (9,925 sq. miles) and too populous. Our frequent paths to work, shopping, visiting, and vacations give us a false sense of familiarity. Each one of us knows a Boston, or several Bostons, very well, but none of us knows metropolitan Boston. Indeed, our very familiarity with part of the settlement plays us false because it screens from us many of the behaviors and events which bound our lives.

To make the familiar strange is thus one important goal of this course. Our device will be to cast some of the most basic issues of the commonplace life into the metropolitan mould. The subjects to be taken up are the family, jobs, nature, and the symbolic climate. The hope is to introduce people into the art of metropolitan watching; to share some of the pleasures which can be found in looking through such special glasses at the way we really live.

THE DEFINITION OF METROPOLITAN BOSTON

The most meaningful definition of a human settlement comes from answering the question of who interacts with whom. Who work together, who buy and sell to each other, who visit together? A definition which defines a human settlement in terms of who work together has been discovered to capture most of the rest of urban dwellers' social life. Thus, metropolitan Boston can be defined as the Boston of commuters. Geographers call such a settlement the Daily Urban System. Such boundaries of the daily journeys to work contain within them not only the job life, but shopping habits, visiting routes, and even the circulation of metropolitan newspapers and the listenership of radio and television stations.

For convenience of measurement the commuting patterns of the nation are counted by counties. For Boston in 1960 and 1970 the counties stretch west to include Worcester County, south to encompass all of Rhode Island, and north in New Hampshire beyond Concord to Carroll County. Altogether our human settlement is a social and economic system of twenty counties and three states. So defined it is one of 171 such metropolitan areas in the continental United States. Its six and a half million inhabitants make it fifth most populous, behind New York (18,410,000),

Los Angeles (10,586,000), Chicago (8,260,000), and Philadelphia (7,427,000). This huge settlement will be the focus of our inquiries, and whenever possible data will be given for the metropolis as a whole and for its constituent counties. Those interested in the possibilities of this system of human accounting should consult: U.S. Department of Commerce, Regional Economic Analysis Division, "The BEA Economic Areas: Structural Changes and Growth, 1950-73," Survey of Current Business, 55 (November, 1975), 24-25, and Sam Bass Warner, Jr. and Sylvia Fleisch, "The Past of Today's Present, A Social History of Metropolitan America 1960-1860," Journal of Urban History 3:1 (November, 1976), 3-118.

FAMILIES

Individuals make no more important decision in their lifetime than whether to marry, when to marry, who to marry, when to have children, and how many children to have. Such decisions, more than any others, determine one's social and economic life. In the aggregate these millions of individual choices alter the metropolis. They influence wage levels, cause some places to grow, others to languish, and they create all manner of fluctuations in demands for goods and services. The family is thus an important factor in the building of the metropolis as well as being strongly influenced by the conditions of the metropolis itself. During the past half century Bostonians have both hurried to the altar and postponed marriage, they have at times limited, and other times expanded their families. Within the family itself roles have changed a great deal as well.

An English book, based on a survey and history of metropolitan London, stresses changes in the economy as the cause of alternations in modern family

life. Michael Young and Peter Willmott, The Symmetrical Family (London, 1972, New York, Pantheon, 1974), read especially chapters 1-3. An American survey, Peter Gabriel Filene, Him/Her Self, Sex Roles in Modern America (New York, Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich, 1974), Part II, sees alterations in family life from the perspective of changes in attitudes.

While reading these books consider your own family decisions to marry or to stay single, to have children, and how many. Did your decisions differ from your parents' or those of your friends? Which family decisions are made by husband or wife? Can any be said to be made jointly? Can you say why you made each decision? Can you think why so many Bostonians of whatever race or religion made similar decisions at similar times?

For further reading the Boston Public Library Staff and Lynn Weiner have prepared a useful bibliography: Boston: An Urban Community, Family Life in Boston: From Colonial Times to the Present (Boston Public Library, 1976).

JOBS

Most of us must take the economy as we find it. We seek places among those which are offered and neither hope nor expect to exercise any control over even our small corner of the metropolitan economy. Our job power is only the power to move. We stay at a job, or go to another. We find a place within the metropolis, or we leave.

This pervasive sence of powerlessness encourages a retreat into the posture of ignorance. The economy, and economic policy, are the property of businessmen, union leaders, government officials, and professional economists. Yet no aspect of the metro-

polis is better known, more thoroughly and continuously studied, and more effectively simplified by theory than the economy. We know a great deal more about the workings of the Boston economy than we do about the behavior of families, the interactions of the metropolitan ecologies, or the effects upon human life of the waves of media messages which now wash over us.

Common sense and everyday experience bring out the most important questions. The memories of our older citizens tell us that we are living in a much richer place than the Boston of half a century ago. A drive from downtown Boston through Roxbury to Milton and down to New Bedford reveals both the personal and geographical distribution of that wealth. Though all are richer today than their counterparts in 1920, the poor, the middling, and the wealthy have the same relative shares of the region's income as they had fifty years ago. The distribution of income has not changed. The pie is bigger, but it's sliced the same way. Despite suburbanization, the geographic places of the poor, the middling, and the wealthy are also the same. Today, as in 1920, the metropolis has a core of poverty, a ring of affluence, and a very large periphery of low wage jobs and low incomes. Only the place names have been changed through suburbanization. The fact that we never come across miles of farms, a steel mill, a coal mine, or an oil derrick tells us that we must prosper by our labor alone, not by harvesting natural resources. Finally, the columns of state and federal government news in every day's newspaper tell us, ours is a public economy, not a private one. Whoever owns what, we depend, to a degree unthinkable fifty years ago, on government for both production and consumption.

Many of the professional economist's questions about the functioning of a metropolitan economy can

be asked of individual job experience. In your line of work are people paid the same throughout the metropolitan region? Could you make much better money if you left for some other part of the United States? Do you ever think of taking up some different line of work? Does your firm, office, store, university, or hospital do the same things it did ten or twenty years ago? How many of your firm's customers and suppliers come from the metropolitan region, how many from beyond? Did your employer hire, fire, or keep on the same number of people during the recession of the past three years?

Let us concentrate on shifts in the location of jobs, workers, and earnings since 1920. To place that material in the relevant setting of Boston's role in the national economy one should consult Robert W. Eisenmenger, The Dynamics of Growth in New England's Economy (Middletown, Conn., Wesleyan Univ. Press, 1967), especially chapters 2 and 8. Those interested in the theory which lies behind Eisenmenger's analysis can find it in Paul A. Samuelson, "International Trade and the Equalization of Factor Prices," The Economic Journal, 58 (June, 1948), 163-184.

The collapse of the New England economy after World War I spurred economists to diagnose the region's ills and to prescribe for its cure. A very useful guide to these works was prepared on the occasion of the launching of yet another study: New England Economic Research Foundation, Review of Regional Economic Research and Planning on New England (U.S. Department of Commerce, Washington, 1967), especially Everett J. Burt, Jr., "Task Force Report A, A Survey of Research on the Population, Labor Force, Employment, Income, and Education in New England."

Taken as a group these studies compose a history of the metropolitan economy since 1920. What follows is a selection arranged in chronological order. The studies thus show both the concerns of their times and the fashionable remedies of their day.

The series begins with very detailed descriptive studies which take up everything from bargain basement retailing to the shortage of hydroelectric power. Of particular interest is the estimate of the distribution of personal income by county based on the 1926 income tax returns. This last appears in the Commercial Structure volume of Charles E. Artman, Commercial Structure of New England (U.S. Department of Commerce, Domestic Commerce Series #26, Washington, 1929), and its companion volume, Charles E. Artman, Industrial Structure of New England (U.S. Department of Commerce, Domestic Commerce Series #28, Washington, 1930).

American Geographical Society, New England's Prospect: 1933 (Special Publication #16, New York, 1933). This volume opens what has become a classic division among those prescribing for the improvement of New England's economy. One side argues for imitation of successes in high technology economies which have appeared elsewhere in the United States. In these years the call was for mass production industries, like the automobile, argued by Edward A. Filene. The other side has always stressed concentration on specialized products which require high technical quality for their execution, much skilled labor, and hopefully little competition from other regions. Here James Truslow Adams argues from New England's long tradition of success in making a wide range of high quality products.

Three studies, much more advanced in economic reasoning than their predecessors, issued forth from the Post-World-War-II collapse of the New Eng-

land economy. These were the years of the final demise of New England textiles and heavy blows to the shoe trade. They precede the region's addiction to warfare and armaments. Council of Economic Advisers, Committee on the New England Economy, The New England Economy (Washington, July, 1951), calls for an integrated steel mill and action to reduce electricity costs. Seymour E. Harris, The Economics of New England, A Case Study of an Older Area (Cambridge, Harvard Univ. Press, 1952). Harris was a member of the Council and its study groups. He lays more stress than they on the drying up of New England's sources of cheap immigrant labor. Arthur A. Bright, Jr. and George H. Ellis, eds., The Economic State of New England (Committee on New England of the National Planning Association, New Haven, Conn., 1954, Reprinted in 2 volumes in 1970). An excellent descriptive summary. It takes the diversification side of the classic argument. Detailed research papers for each chapter exist in the library of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston.

R. C. Estall, New England, A Study in Industrial Adjustment (New York, Praeger, 1966), shows the effects of the Cold War on the post-1945 economy. It has a geographic focus which indicates what the Boston metropolis gained and what it lost.

All the above studies concentrate on the role of manufacturing as the key to the region's prosperity. It has become more and more clear, however, that government and services, activities like health care, education, and business consulting, are the fastest growing activities in the region. A new debate has thus issued forth, a debate between those who see manufactures as still the root of prosperity and those who call for closer attention to services and government. The new point of view appears in: Joint Commission on Federal Base Conversion, Service

Sector Growth: Its Implications for the Massachusetts Economy and Federal Base Redevelopment (Harbridge House, Inc. for the Commonwealth of Mass., Boston, April, 1975). Bennett Harrison, The Economic Development of Massachusetts (Report to the Joint Committee on Commerce and Labor, Mass. State Legislature, Boston, November, 1974). Chapter 2 outlines the current myths widely held by businessmen and politicians about the state's economy. Neither group seems to attend to the contents of the bibliography given above.

NATURE

Our recent public concern for the condition of plants, animals, and birds in the city wears two aspects. One manifests itself in public health measures to clean up the water and air, the other purposes a new style of urban living; it urges city dwellers to change their attitude toward the natural life which surrounds them in the metropolis. Both have their immediate origins in the writings of Rachel Carson.

The public health attack was best presented in her Silent Spring, first published in 1962. In that book she built her case against the use of DDT by employing the concept of a food chain in which the insecticide which killed the bugs became a danger to human life by being concentrated in a succession of organisms, the last one of which might be man. Through the concepts of the food chain and the ecologies of ponds and farms she was able to logically connect dangers to the health of humans with threats to bird and fish life.

Immense difficulties prevent us from making many such logical links between the condition of plants,

animals, and birds in the metropolis and the health of its residents. Most of Boston's farms are in the South, Midwest, and Pacific coast. The sheer size of the metropolis, the multiplicity of its ecologies, and the seeming infinity of its intakes and outputs make reasoning about metropolitan biologic interactions very difficult. For instance, although statistics show urban dwellers suffer a higher incidence of cancer than suburbanites and country dwellers, no one can estimate the degree to which these differences stem from air pollution, cigarette smoking, industrial hazards, or factors as yet completely undetected. The comparative lack of research into such ecological questions (by contrast to the sustained efforts in economic research) continues our ignorance.

Yet environmental undertakings go forward, and public programs have multiplied since Ms. Carson's book. The work proceeds according to the logic of previously successful public health campaigns. By this reasoning if one discovers an unusually high incidence of disease and death in a place one undertakes to clean up its environment. By making sure that the water is fresh, the air pure, the streets and houses clean, the factories safe, and the food uncontaminated, one hopes to have broken the chains causing disease and death, even though those chains may be unknown. Such a public health strategy has worked well in the past. Amasa B. Ford, Urban Health in America (New York, Oxford, 1976) has written a good survey of the current metropolitan health situation and its possible remedies.

It is doubtful if sewers, water purification, and emission controls would have found their present levels of public support had they depended solely on health arguments. A cultural movement urging city dwellers to enter into new relationships with nature

has captured the public imagination and given energy to many projects in addition to pipes and smoke collectors. Ms. Carson's nature writings, especially the beautiful The Sea Around Us (1951), stimulated the revival of interest in nature observation and the conservation of wild spaces. For those interested in an intellectual history, Donald Fleming has written a brilliant account, "The Roots of the New Conservation Movement," Perspectives in American History, 6 (1972), 7-91.

This cultural movement demands as its ultimate goal the conscious management of all the land within the metropolis so that native wild ecologies, gardened and farmed spaces, and totally urbanized areas can coexist for the enjoyment and for the safety of the metropolitan human population. The control of land is the central political action of the movement. Since land is a scarce resource in a metropolis, such actions inevitably bring high temperature politics to city, town, state, and federal governments. Given the unequal distribution of income among city dwellers, this land politics necessarily engenders class conflicts. Understanding will be aided by a review of Boston's metropolitan land politics and policies since the 1920's. As a background to this history the following are useful: Seymour I. Toll, The Zoned American (New York, 1969), Bureau of Regional Planning, Mass. Department of Community Affairs, Enabling Legislation for Planning and Zoning, Study Report No. 2, Municipal Planning and Subdivision (Boston, February, 1973); Conference on Environmental Quality and Social Justice, Woodstock, Illinois, 1972, Environmental Quality and Social Justice in Urban America (James Noel Smith, ed., Washington, 1974), especially the article by Peter Marcuse, "Conservation for Whom?", pp. 17-36.

Given the imperfect state of our knowledge no authoritative survey of changes in the Boston metro-

politan ecology is possible. What can be offered is a series of books and articles by scientists and observers of nature which open up the topic and offer the reader the enjoyments of a heightened consciousness of the world of metropolitan nature in which he lives.

In considering the topic of metropolitan nature a number of questions may be useful. One might ask oneself why anyone should swim in the lower Charles River? Is the condition of the plants, animals and birds in your neighborhood any kind of measure of human health in that neighborhood? How many acres of wild land do you and your family or friends use in a year? Is it beach, forest, wetland, open fields? Is there a special class, racial and age composition to the Crane's Beach crowd on a hot Sunday? Are the open spaces of the metropolis merely another amenity, like the lawns in the suburbs? If Boston's 10,000 square miles of metropolitan land were all like Beacon Hill, what sort of human impoverishment would it be?

The best introductory book setting forth how ecological scientists see the city today is, Thomas R. Detwyler and Melvin G. Marcus, Urbanization and the Environment (Scituate, Mass., Duxbury Press, 1972), or one might prefer to start with a bit more popular book: John Rublowsky, Nature in the City (New York, Basic Books, 1967). Eugene P. Odum, "The Strategy of Ecosystem Development," Science 164 (April 18, 1969), 262-270, has written an excellent article setting forth the theory of ecosystems in language which a patient layman can understand. The best reference to the natural history literature which an amateur might want to consult is: Don Gill and Penelope Bonnett, Nature in the Urban Landscape, A Study of City Ecosystems (Baltimore, 1973).

Because the Boston metropolis is like all modern metropolises, so large, and because it is so often experienced in automobile trips, one might wish to get a general overview of its geology and ecological sub-areas. There are several excellent guides: Neil Jorgensen, A Guide to New England's Landscape (Barre, Mass., Barre, 1971); and, Betty Flanders Thomson, The Changing Face of New England (New York, Macmillan, 1958). Clifford A. Kaye, The Geology and Early History of the Boston Area of Massachusetts, A Bicentennial Approach (Geological Survey Bulletin #1476, Washington, G. P.O., 1976) is a charming geology lesson. Also Michael Conzen and George K. Lewis have recently written an excellent Boston geography which combines the physical, social and economic character of the inner metropolis: Boston: A Geographical Portrait (Cambridge, Ballinger, 1976). Finally, the Boston Redevelopment Authority has just published an excellent illustrated plan for the city's open spaces; Boston's Urban Wilds (Boston, September, 1976).

Trees and Plants

Nancy M. Page and Richard W. Weaver, Jr., Wild Plants in the City (New York, 1975). A wonderful illustrated guidebook showing Boston's weeds in the vacant lots and ecological niches of the city. Thomas S. Elias and Howard S. Irwin. "Urban Trees." Scientific American 235:5 (November, 1976) pp. 110-118. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Plants/People/ and Environmental Quality (Gary O. Robinette, ed., Washington, G. P.O., 1972). James A. Schmid, Urban Vegetation, A Review and Chicago Case Study (University of Chicago, Dept. of Geography, Research Paper #161, Chicago, 1975).

Animals

A. M. Beck, The Ecology of Stray Dogs (Baltimore, 1973). William B. Jackson, "Food Habits of Baltimore, Maryland, Cats in Relation to Rat Populations," Journal of Mammology, 32 (November, 1951), 458-461. Darrell L. Cauley and James R. Schinner, "The Cincinnati Raccoons," Natural History 82 (November, 1973), 58-60, and Melvin B. Hathaway, "Ecology of City Squirrels," same issue of Natural History, pp. 61-62.

Birds

Aelred D. Gets, "The New Town Bird Quadrille," Natural History 83 (June/July, 1974), 54-60. Charles F. Walcott, "Changes in Bird Life in Cambridge, Mass. from 1860 to 1964," Auk 91 (January, 1974), 151-160. Terry Gompertz, "Some Observations on the Feral Pidgeon in London," Bird Study 4 (1957), 2-13. D. Summers-Smith, The House Sparrow (London, 1963). For those who are not now urban birdwatchers, but who would like to be, the Government Bookstore in the basement of the Kennedy Center sells a pamphlet which should do for one's backyard: Bob Hines and Peter A. Anastasi, Fifty Birds of Town and City (Washington, 1973).

The best beginning field guide which gives all the birds resident in and visiting the metropolitan region is: Chandler S. Robbins, Bertel Bruun, and Herbert S. Zim, Birds of North America (New York, 1966).

Water

Mass. Division of Water Resources, Groundwater and Groundwater Law in Massachusetts (Boston, 1976); New England River Basins Commission, Report of the Southeastern New England Study (Boston, December, 1975), Summary, Regional Report, and detailed volumes, especially Boston Metropolitan Planning Area Report.

SYMBOLIC CLIMATE

Of all the oddities of our metropolitan existence none is more strange than the imbalance between talkers and listeners. In our human settlement, unlike all before it, few speak, and many listen.

The essence of a city is, and always has been, communications. The first cities in history were market places where people periodically came to exchange goods and gossip. The commercial, political, and social advantage of being near many people gave rise to the crowding of houses about the market. Even such novelties as the telephone and the automobile continue such patterns of a central density of traffic. The higher wage levels of the inner ring of Boston counties reflect the greater ease and greater intensity of communications in these areas as opposed to the outer, low wage, periphery.

The oddity of our human settlement comes thus, not from automobiles and telephones, but from a different quarter: the media. Never have humans lived within such an immense cloud of one-way messages. Newspapers, magazines, radio, and television blanket the metropolis with a ceaseless flow of commercial and governmental messages. Just as we are born and die in sunshine and rain, so we live out our lives in a climate of one-way messages. In our metropolis a few speak and many listen, or make an effort not to listen.

The consequences for human life of such an environment are imperfectly understood. Unlike the economy, or even the natural environment, little theory and only fragmented data exist. The complacent see the media climate as insignificant, a harmless filling of the empty spaces of people's time with music, stories, and sports, a mere bringing into

the home of entertainments formerly confined to the city's theaters, taverns, and stadia. The anxious see the media as an engine of commercial and government fashions which corrodes the traditional values of the society, and melts the social glue which sustains our humanity.

Consider for a moment the following correlation. Historically the rise in volume of media messages and the rise of modern metropolitan settlement have accompanied the extraordinary ability of the modern state to mobilize its population for war. In our own country the symbolic climate has turned lethal with increasing frequency; 1918-19 (World War I), 1941-45 (World War II), 1950-53 (Korean War), 1965-73 (Vietnam War). Formerly in the United States it was impossible to get so many Americans to agree to head in any one direction. In recent years too, groups within the society have attempted direct attacks on the symbolic climate which they contend is destructive to their existence. Blacks and women have been at the forefront of such campaigns.

The minor commercial effects of the symbolic climate are most continuously monitored and best known. Scholars have moved beyond immediate market research, the question of what it takes to get someone to shift from buying TIDE to buying ALL, to questions of how the media change more significant behavior. The best opinion today suggests a two-stage process whereby the values and attitudes of small groups interact with the suggestions of the media.

For example, for a doctor to change his method of treatment, or for a farmer to adopt a new practice, first the media suggest and then the listener or reader seeks the opinion of his friends and colleagues. If the receiver of the media suggestion receives validation and approval from his group, he

will be willing to change his behavior. Otherwise, he will not. Studies have shown that voting behavior follows the same model. This scholarly literature appears in Lewis A. Dexter and David Manning White, People, Society, and Mass Communications (New York, 1964), see especially Elihu Katz, "Communications Research and the Image of Society: the Convergence of Two Traditions," pp. 110-121. Thus, current research postulates some very complicated processes whereby the media suggest and small groups in society accept or reject these suggestions. Note that this construct does not account for what the media suggests, or why some suggestions, like war, seem to travel more easily through the system than others.

The most useful book I have found which places the general questions of communications into perspective of modern urban history is Lewis Mumford, The Pentagon of Power (New York, 1970), also published as volume two of his The Myth of the Machine, Technics and Human Development (New York, 1967). There is also a controversy between those who see the current symbolic climate to be the consequence of censorship and manipulation, Herbert I. Schiller, The Mind Managers (Boston, 1973) and those who see its banality as a consequence of a failure of artistic imagination, Robert Scholes, Structural Fabulation (Notre Dame, 1975).

In thinking generally about the symbolic climate in which you live it might be well to ask yourself a few questions. To what extent do the advertisements, stories, and messages coming toward you support your own values and attitudes? To what extent do they challenge them? Are the heroes and heroines of the media stories, advertisements, and news like you in values and attitudes, but different from you only in their wealth, power, and glamor? Or, are these heroes and heroines like you in appearance and style,

but different from you in their values and attitudes?

The topic is immense and it would be impossible briefly to cover many dimensions of such a subject. We can, however, make a start with one dimension, and thereby enjoy the fruits of seeing our metropolitan life in still another way. The subject of the media is like the economy in that it concerns a metropolitan region set in a national system. Much of our symbolic climate, like our economy, has its origins outside the Boston metropolis. We listen to, read, watch, and are bombarded with national messages. Since we share these in common they make a good place to begin our observations.

Specifically, we might examine the changing advertisements and fiction of mass national magazines from the twenties to the present. The similarities and differences between the fiction and the ads will be watched. Our general question should be: What sort of a life are the mass magazines portraying as modern metropolitan life? Special attention should be paid to the differences in the presentation of men's and women's roles.

Since so many media messages are fragments, only partially developed stories, slight, and even contradictory suggestions, some yardstick is required against which to hold the material. We need to measure differences among stories, and changes since 1920. The measure should be a tried one: we can hold one story against another. The yardstick might be a novel which by common consent is thought to represent an accurate portrait of some aspects of twentieth century metropolitan life: F. Scott Fitzgerald's The Great Gatsby (1925).

In considering Fitzgerald's story one might begin by asking the same sort of questions one asks of

any city. What is the physical and social shape of Fitzgerald's New York? How do the characters make their money? What are the men's and women's roles? What do rich people and what do ordinary people do? What do they seek in life? More specifically, what does Gatsby seek in Daisy Buchanan? Why is Tom Buchanan reading kinky racist literature? What is the basis upon which Nick Carroway builds his moral criticism of the characters he meets in New York?